Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 069992

72
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INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

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EB-11 FEA-02 FPC-01 INT-08 OMB-01 SAM-01 SCI-06

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS:PFOR PINS, CY, US, TU, GR
SUBJECT: CYPRIOT AIDE-MEMOIRE EXPRESSING CONCERN FOR
FUTURE OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS

REF: NICOSIA 575

1. CYPRUS AMBASSADOR DIMITRIOU CALLED ON ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY DAVIES ON APRIL 4 TO PRESENT AN AIDE-MEMOIRE EXPRESSING GOC CONCERN OVER RECENT GOT STATEMENTS ON A "FEDERAL" SOLUTION FOR THE CYPRUS PROBLEM AND TO REQUEST USG TO EXERT "EVERY POSSIBLE EFFORT TO AVERT A DEADLOCK AND
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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 069992

SECURE THE CONTINUATION OF THE TALKS ON THE ESTABLISHED

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

BASIS." BEFORE READING THE AIDE-MEMOIRE, DIMITRIOU COMMENTED THAT THE SUSPICION THAT THESE STATEMENTS REFLECT TURKISH POLICY HAD CAUSED INDEFINITE "POSTPONEMENT" OF THE TALKS AND THREATENED THEIR FUTURE. HE ALSO EXPLAINED THAT THE URGENCY OF THE SITUATION REQUIRED THAT HE DELIVER THE AIDE-MEMOIRE IMMEDIATELY AND THAT HE WOULD FOLLOW-UP WITH ACTING SECRETARY RUSH NEXT WEEK. THE AIDE-MEMOIRE TABLED WITH US INCLUDED THE NOTE VERBALE GIVEN THE UNSYG.

2. MAIN POINTS FOLLOW:

A. RECENT TURKISH STATEMENTS RE FEDERALISM ARE DEVIATION FROM "INDEPENDENT, SOVEREIGN, UNITARY STATE" FORMULA WHICH WAS AGREED BASIS OF LOCAL TALKS. THIS IS CLEAR FROM A

VARIETY OF UN DOCUMENTS (QUOTES SUPPLIED) OVER THE YEARS, INCLUDING S/10842, PARA 80 OF DEC. 1, 1972, IN WHICH THE SYG STATES: "...THE REACTIVATED INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS ARE THE BEST INSTRUMENT FOR ACHIEVING A SATISFACTORY, LASTING AND AGREED SOLUTION BASED ON THE CONCEPT OF AN INDEPENDENT, SOVEREIGN AND UNITARY STATE WITH THE ADEQUATE PARTICIPATION OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES." IF GOT POLICY IS TO DEVIATE FROM THIS FORMULA, CONTINUATION OF TALKS IS THREATENED.

B. GOC IS MAKING SIMILAR APPROACHES TO UNSYG AND TO PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO "REAFFIRM MOST EMPHATICALLY THAT IT CANNOT AND WILL NOT AGREE TO ANY DEVIATION FROM THE AGREED BASIS..." WITHOUT WHICH "THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS WOULD NOT HAVE BECOME POSSIBLE."

C. THE GREEK CYPRIOT REPRESENTATIVE AT THE TALKS HAS ALL ALONG EXHIBITED A SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AND UNDERSTANDING IN HIS EARNEST DESIRE TO SECURE A SOLUTION.

D. PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT'S 27 MARCH STATEMENT RE FEDERALISM AND DENKTASH'S 29 MARCH STATEMENT THAT ALL PREREQUISITES NECESSARY FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF A SEPARATE TURKISH STATE ARE PRESENT, MEAN A TURKISH STANCE WHICH MAKES THE FAILURE OF THE TALKS A FOREGONE CONCLUSION.
CONFIDENTIAL

E. THE SECRETARY GENERAL, USG, AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ARE REQUESTED TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE TO AVERT A DEADLOCK AND SECURE CONTINUATION OF THE TALKS ON THE AGREED BASIS.

3. IN REPLY DAVIES SAID WE WOULD STUDY THE GOC AIDE-MEMOIRE WITH CARE; EXPRESSED HOPE THAT THE GOC WOULD TAKE

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

NO ACTION WHICH MIGHT JEOPARDIZE A PEACEFULLY NEGOTIATED SOLUTION; NOTED THAT RECENT TURKISH STATEMENTS HAVE PLAYED DOWN THE FEDERALISM ISSUE AND THAT PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON FEDERALISM HAVE NOT BEEN REFLECTED IN THE PROPOSALS MADE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS; AND REITERATED US SUPPORT FOR THE LOCAL TALKS AS THE BEST HOPE OF ACHIEVING AN AGREED SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM BASED ON THE CONCEPT OF A SINGLE, SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT CYPRUS.

4. DIMITRIOU NOTED DAVIES' ASSURANCES WITH GRATIFICATION AND SAID HE APPRECIATED THE EXPRESSION OF HOPE FOR RESTRAINT FROM ALL PARTIES IN DEALING WITH SITUATION. HE ALSO GAVE ASSURANCES THAT THE GOC HAD NO INTENTION OF TAKING ANY STEPS WHICH MIGHT AGGRAVATE SITUATION. ANY TROUBLE WHICH DEVELOPED WOULD BE "RESULT OF THE NATIONAL-ISTIC, CHAUVINISTIC, UNREALISTIC TURKISH ATTITUDE".

DIMITRIOU ALSO REMARKED THAT WHEN ASKED POINT BLANK BY CLERIDES TO DISASSOCIATE HIMSELF FROM FEDERATION STANCE, DENKTASH REFUSED TO GIVE DIRECT ANSWER. DAVIES REPLIED THAT DENKTASH'S RESPONSE WAS NOT REALLY SURPRISING AS HE WAS HARDLY IN POSITION TO DISAVOW TURKISH PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT. IN ANY CASE, SITUATION REALLY REQUIRES POSI-TIVE STATEMENT REGARDING AGREED BASIS FOR TALKS RATHER THAN EXPLICIT RENUNCIATION. IN THIS REGARD, ATTENTION NOW CENTERED ON UNSYG SPECIAL REP OSORIO-TAFALL'S EFFORTS TO FIND FORMULA FOR RESUMPTION OF LOCAL NEGOTIATIONS.

5. ASKED WHETHER THE GOT STATEMENTS REFLECTED FUNDA-MENTAL RATHER THAN SEMANTIC CHANGE, DAVIES REPLIED THAT GOT HAD ASSURED US THAT ITS POLICY WAS UNCHANGED. HE ALSO NOTED THAT SITUATION HAD TO BE VIEWED IN CONTEXT OF GROWING STRAIN BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY AND IN CONTEXT
CONFIDENTIAL

OF DOMESTIC TURKISH POLITICS WHERE GOT HAS NARROW PLURALITY AND NATIONALISTIC RIGHTIST GOVERNMENT PARTNER. ASKED IF GOT ACTIONS COULD BE CONSIDERED AS PART OF GENERAL BARGAINING TACTIC IN DEALING WITH GREECE AND AS EFFORT TO GAIN CONCESSIONS IN SOME AREAS (CYPRUS) AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHERS (OIL, CONTINENTAL SHELF, ETC.), DAVIES REPLIED NEGATIVELY.

6. IN CLOSING WE REMARKED THAT THERE WAS NO INDICATION THAT STATEMENTS ON FEDERALISM HAD BEEN REFLECTED IN THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROPOSALS IN THE TALKS. "IF THE TALKS BREAK DOWN, LET THEM BREAK DOWN ON SUBSTANCE AND NOT ON PUBLIC STATEMENTS" MADE OUTSIDE THE TALKS AND WITH DOMESTIC AUDIENCES IN MIND.

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

7. COMMENT: DEPARTMENT AGREES THAT CURRENT GOC REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN LOCAL TALKS BECAUSE OF TURK CYPRIOT/ TURKISH PROPAGANDA ON "FEDERALISM" IS BASICALLY AIMED AT REDRESSING TACTICAL POLITICAL AND PROPAGANDA BALANCE. ONE SCHOOL OF THOUGHT HERE IS THAT TURKISH EMPHASIS ON "FEDERALISM" IS TACTICAL PLOY DESIGNED TO OFFSET GOC'S EMPHASIS ON "UNITARY" IN SPITE OF TURKEY'S OFTEN EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS IN RECENT YEARS ABOUT USE OF A TERM FOR WHICH THERE WAS NO AGREED DEFINITION. TACTICAL MANEUVERING, HOWEVER, SHOULD NOT OBSCURE FACT THAT TURKS/TURK CYPRIOTS REALLY DO WAN FEDERATION AND THAT GOC WANTS UNITARY STATE. SINCE NEITHER WOULD ACCEPT A TOTALLY UNITARY OR FEDERATED STATE THE PROBLEM IS TO KEEP THEM NEGOTIATING UNTIL THEY CAN STRIKE A BALANCE--I.E., SOME VERSION OF A BI-COMMUNAL STATE. WITH OSORIO ATTEMPTING TO NEGOTIATE A COMPROMISE FORMULA AS A BASIS FOR HE CONTINUATION OF THE TALKS AND UN UNDERSYG GUYER'S TRIP TO THE AREA, UN IS WELL OUT IN FRONT IN FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE CURRENT

IMPASSE. FOR THE MOMENT, AT LEAST, WE INTEND TO COMBINE DIPLOMATIC INACTIVITY WITH HELPFUL STATEMENTS LEAVING OPEN THE OPTION OF SUPPORTING UN EFFORTS. RUSH

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Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

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EO Systematic Review
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